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vessels and cargoes on the high seas. My friend refers to the confusion now existing as to distribution of damages as defying any rational codification of the different rules that obtain. This state of things evidently invites hostilities. And changes in the rules admitting universal understanding and compilation would as evidently prevent them.

My impression has therefore been clear and strong, ever since I attended the Law Reform Congress at Cologne in 1882, as an American delegate, that the friends of international peace wisely look to this Congress for large help in the prevention of war. Back of the movement for arbitration lies its work as to subjects involved in cases of arbitration. It seems to be the simplest fact possible that to diminish liability to international misunderstandings is to uproot a prolific cause of wars. And the simple method is to ameliorate existing rules by development of humane and Christian principles. Now and then some rule will be found so provocative of "strained relations," that no improvement in the direction of civilization and humanity is possible. Such a rule must evidently be thrown out by common consent. Abrogation, not "evolution," is the only remedy.

GRINNELL, IOWA, Oct., 1895.

JINGOISTIC PERILS TO COMMERCE.

BY EDWARD ATKINSON.

Address at the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Reform Club, Dec. 7, 1895.

Gentlemen of the Reform Club: In preparing to address you upon the jingoism which has found a lodgment in a cavity in the heads of some of our public men, I may safely assume that other speakers will have dealt with the political and moral aspect of the question; I shall, therefore, mainly devote myself to the economic side. From that standpoint, it may become manifest to you that the imbecility of the promoters of jingoism is even more in evidence than the brutal influence which they attempt to exert from the personally safe positions which most of them occupy. Some of these men appear to be moved by the desire to maintain increased taxes in order to get a pretext for heavier imposts; others appear to be actuated by a craving for notoriety, their crazy utterances giving evidence of their total lack of any real ability to deal with the great social problems of the day. There are others of some executive ability in the public service, but, as yet, of but little experience, to whom we may impute patriotic intentions, only in inverse proportion to the credit which we may give them for capacity in any public function, except, perhaps, in performing the executive duties of a chief of police.

The active jingoism of this small and feeble, but very noisy, faction is sustained by the more dangerous, but passive, support which is given them by men of pure intentions, who attained position and influence in the late great struggle for existence through which this nation passed into the full fruition of personal liberty. These are men whose intensity of feeling had become so great in dealing with the moral and ethical questions of the past that they appear to have become incapable of reasoning on the economic questions of the present. Certain men in the highest positions and of great intellectual power still hold to the medieval fallacy that in the commerce of nations what one gains another must lose, being apparently mentally incapable of mastering the simple principles of trade. They, therefore, regard all imports

from foreign countries as an evidence of a war upon our domestic industries, totally overlooking the fact that all commerce consists in mutual service, and that it cannot be sustained unless both parties secure a benefit.

Under the combined influence of these depraved, or erroneous, ideas, the true Monroe and the Adams doctrine of 1818 has been put completely out of sight, and a Monroe doctrine which is a travesty of the original grounds of President Monroe's action in relation to the republics of Central and South America is put before the people as if it had almost the sanctity of international law. One may form a very sure estimate of the motives which actuated President Monroe, without going into the lengthy history of the measures which were taken by his secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, and by himself in 1817 and 1818, for the purpose of maintaining God's peace on the long frontier between us and the neighboring Dominion of Canada. Those motives were brought into action by the simple agreement made by Mr. Adams with the foreign office of Great Britain, afterward confirmed by the Senate of the United States, and still binding upon both nations. It was agreed — and I now use the exact words — that, "in order to avoid collision and to save expense," neither the United States nor Great Britain would maintain any armed naval force upon the great lakes. Over these great lakes a peaceful commerce is now borne in the service of mankind greater than that of the Mediterranean sea. The volume of the traffic which passes through the St. Mary's canal during the seven or eight months when it is free from ice exceeds the year's traffic of the Suez canal by more than one-fifth.

If we need no "commerce destroyers" on the lakes, what need have we of such disgraceful instruments of plunder and rapine upon the ocean, over which our huge supplies of food, fuel, fibres and fabrics are borne in constantly increasing measure to supply the needs of nations, from whom we gain in exchange many of the comforts and luxuries and a few of the necessities of life? * * *

The nineteenth century will be marked in history for the development of the great commerce in which men and nations serve each other's needs. In this service there are four groups, consisting of six countries, that may be classed as the machine-using nations of the world. By the application of science and invention within the century, they have been enabled to develop the mechanism of production and distribution to the mutual benefit of all whom they supply. In this labor-saving progress the wages or earnings of the mass of the people of this country have been doubled in purchasing power in thirty years; the wages in some other countries having been slightly augmented. Wealth and welfare have been alike increased in this country very rapidly; in other countries, but slowly. Had it not been for the concurrent waste of war and of preparation for war in Europe, accompanying the development of machinery, poverty might have been yet more alleviated in these machine-using countries hereafter named than it has been, while pauperism might have been wholly abated or made exceptional in the cases of the incapable only. In Great Britain it has been reduced one-half in recent years.

At the head of this group of machine-using nations stand the people of the United States; next Great Britain; next France, and lastly Germany, Belgium and Holland. In these four groups will be found about one-seventh of the population of the globe, numbering at some point in 1896 about 216,000,000 persons, one-third

of whom, 72,000,000 in number, will dwell in the United States; the other two-thirds in the five other countries named.

We will now contrast the conditions to which the Jingo spirit of violence, war and rapine have brought all Continental Europe with the conditions of peace, order and industry, in which we now dwell, and which we intend to maintain by ejecting from any position of public duty, honor and confidence the malignant representatives of jingoism which now infest the politics of the country. Parties now find a new alignment. The function of the Mugwumps in this club is that of the bacterium of anti-toxine treatment — dissociating the corrupt element from the parties on whom we work, and thus giving the true influence to those who are entitled to it. Under our influence and that of good government clubs some of the most corrupt partisans have been purged, but Tammany and the Jingoës still wait for heroic doses of anti-toxine. I am not sure that we may not rightly christen the new party of the future here and now. What say you to naming it the party of The Fool Killers?

Witness the few figures which I will now submit to you sustaining my thesis: The population of Great Britain, France, Germany, Holland and Belgium in 1896 will number 144,000,000, of whom one in five is of arm-bearing age, numbering 28,800,000. When the proposed addition to armies and navies have been conscripted, which are now in progress, the forces under arms will number 1,720,000. Very nearly one man in every 17 wasting the substance of the people in camp, barracks and armed vessels, taking from those who work all the benefits of progress in the arts of peace, leaving them now in many parts of Europe as poor as they always have been.

During the year 1896 the number of people in the United States will reach 72,000,000; of arms-bearing age there will be 14,400,000; our armed force on land and sea will not exceed 40,000. But one man in each 360 will be diverted from the peaceful pursuits to keep order within our own domain on land and to protect our commerce upon the sea and our citizens in foreign lands. In order that we might emulate our competitors by burdening ourselves with excessive taxes and by withdrawing our most capable men from the pursuits of peace under the lead of the jingo faction, our armed force on land and sea in order to equal the average of the machine-using nations with whom we compete in the supply of the needs of the world, would number over 850,000 men. Does not that fact justify the need of the new party of Fool Killers? What right have men to any influence on the public mind whose standard of manliness and force is only that of violence and aggression; who cannot discriminate between the necessary requirements of self-defence on land and of national protection on the sea and the aggressive spirit which the jingoës show in their efforts to embroil us with other nations under the guise of honor to our army and navy? * * *

But again, dealing with the economic side of this question, such has been the potent influence of science and invention in their application to our own domestic industry that we now make the greatest product of the foods, the metals, the fibres and the fabrics that the world needs. We secure this product at the lowest cost by the unit of measure or weight of almost every staple article made. From this huge product at the low prices at which we are able to sell it with profit to ourselves, our working people derive the highest wages in every art or branch of industry that is of any substantial moment in

the industrial progress of this nation. We owe a large part of our freedom from heavy taxation to the fact that we are not under the burden of the great armies and navies which the jingoës would now put upon us. Unless they have their way, in less than twenty years at the present rate of national taxation of \$5 a head we shall be free from debt. For national purposes we are now the lightest taxed nation in the world. So effective have these influences become when applied to but a small part of our fertile land, to our mines and to our forests as to make us the only one of the machine-using nations which produces an excess of food, an excess of fuel, an excess of metals and an excess of fibres. Great Britain, Germany, France and the Netherlands are each deficient in one or more of these vital elements which lie at the foundation of industry. They are each and all dependent mainly upon us for a large part of their supplies. These conditions create the beneficent commerce upon which Jingoës propose to make war. It is for that malignant purpose that our basely named "commerce destroyers" have been put upon the seas.

Let us try to imagine the extent of the service which we render by our exports in exchange for the comforts and luxuries which we import. Our exports of 1894 — not the largest in our history, having been gravely affected by the previous panic of 1893 — possessed a declared value of \$870,000,000. By far the larger part of that export consisted of farm products. As nearly as I can estimate the annual product of each person who is occupied for gain in this country, about one in three of our whole number, including those whose product is greatly increased by the application of machinery and is therefore considerably more than that of the average farmer and farm laborer, especially in the South, it possessed a value of about \$700 a year. Even on this basis the exports mainly derived from farms represent the result of the labor of 1,250,000 persons, but at this average product, especially of the cotton farmers which in the picking season is wholly done by hand — there is little doubt that the export of farm products represents the work of more than 1,500,000 farmers and laborers. Four-fifths of this export consisted of such an excess of the products of the farm that there could have been no domestic use or demand for it; it would have rotted on the field or wasted in the warehouse except for foreign demand. A war upon this commerce such as the Jingoës seek to promote would then be a war upon the domestic industry of more than 1,000,000, probably 1,500,000 western and southern farmers, out of the whole force of workmen whose products are exported. * * *

Let us next analyze this commerce in order to find out who are our largest customers. Our principal customers are the people of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. In 1894 we sold them nearly half of our exports, \$424,000,000 worth, mostly articles of food and fibres. We took in exchange from them goods to the value of \$107,000,000, leaving a difference placed to our credit in gold of over \$300,000,000. This would have flooded us with British gold had not the silverite allies of the Jingoës, who prefer paper money and low-priced silver, succeeded for a time in fooling the people of this country. The silver cranks have, however, been suppressed and the new party of the Fool Killers will not have much difficulty in dealing with them. When we regard the immense benefits given and received in this commerce we may conceive what a blessing it would be to the world if through a commercial treaty among the

English-speaking people the peace of the seas should be assured, if privateering should be held to be piracy, to the end that while the probable worthlessness of the great armor-clad vessels is being developed commerce should not suffer in the interval and rapine should be done away with.

Upon that great mass of British gold which is annually passed to our credit we draw our bills of exchange in settlement of our purchases of the tea, the coffee, the sugar and the spices which we buy from the silver standard countries. If it were true that prices had not risen in the silver using countries, then we should get for our British gold twice as much as we did before the depreciation of silver in the commercial or machine-using nations. What an idiotic performance it would be to enter into a treaty of legal tender with other countries commonly called bi-metallic, and especially with Great Britain, which would enable them to export their manufactures made from our food and our fibres to these silver using nations, taking their payment in silver which, under the proposed treaty of legal tender which our silver men so earnestly support, they could put off upon us, while we, by the terms of that treaty, should have deprived ourselves of any choice in the matter. * * *

There is one of Boccaccio's tales which bears an analogy to our present conditions. In a certain land there dwelt one Father Tom, who lived by his wits, and who had done no work for his own support for many years, his neighbors having been wheedled into supplying him with all that he required. At last his subtle methods were found out and it is related that he then migrated to "The Land of Mendacity, because they used only paper money there," and there he was sure of again being able to live by his wits at the cost of his neighbors. How soon shall we send Father Bill, and Father Don, and Father Henry, and their neophytes to the land of mendacity? * * *

Our other customers in Europe — Germany, France and the Netherlands — took from us in 1894, \$213,000,000 worth of food, fibres and fabrics; these States with the United Kingdom of Great Britain buying nearly 80 per cent. of everything that we exported.

The war which the Jingoists propose and the purpose of the commerce destroyers must be directed to the destruction of that commerce with our best customers, since what there is with other States and nations would hardly be worth their attention. Translated into plain English, their purpose is to destroy the commerce by which 1,250,000 or more of our most energetic men and women get their living, each of whom has or may presently have a vote, and that vote will certainly be thrown for the ticket of the party of Foul Killers.

This violent, aggressive and vicious form of Jingoism, only injures the cause of arbitration, standing in the way of a firm insistence upon the true Monroe doctrine by which our relations with the small and feeble republics which are our neighbors are governed. A firm stand may be taken in demanding the just and equal recognition of our neighboring republics without distinction; whether too small and feeble to maintain their own rights or large enough to defend themselves when attacked. When the influence of this nation is thus exerted for justice, peace and order; and for the arbitration of contested claims, no bluster is required. The moral sense of the English-speaking people will suffice to assure compliance with such righteous demands.

The idea of a war which would be absolutely nothing more than a civil war, between the two branches of the

English-speaking people, on a petty question relating to the boundary of one of those republics is too absurd to be conceived. The masses of Great Britain who held under stern control the classes that were inclined to interfere in our civil war in support of slavery, forbidding such wrong, would neither support an aggressive and unjust demand upon a neighboring republic nor permit it to come to the arbitrament of war. We may rest assured that the true spirit of the Monroe doctrine, so called, is as consistent with the policy of Great Britain as it is with our own, since it would be as much to her injury as to our own if any other European country should secure a hold upon any part of Central or South America in the effort to keep the control of its commerce.

We may also hope that the day may come when through the combined influence of the two great branches of the English-speaking people all causes for interference with the petty difficulties of the South and Central American republics may be removed by establishing the principles of the English common law, and the English modes of administration upon a firm foundation of the personal liberty which is the common heritage of the English-speaking people. When this rule is established over this great area, now torn by intestine factions and waiting for the establishment of the order, the justice and the firm administration for which the English-speaking people have been conspicuous during the last half century, it will almost amount to opening the great continent of South America for the first time to the true benefits of civilization and commerce.

There is no place in which it is more necessary to begin the suppression of Jingoism than in this commonwealth. I have therefore submitted this plain diagnosis of this disease to the Massachusetts Reform Club. We mugwumps are not very numerous, and we may be insignificant persons, yet possibly our function may be that of the bacterium which was lately discovered, by the infusion of which into cream of any part of the year the best flavor of June butter may be developed, while at the same time the infusion preserves the cream from premature decay. That was the function of the mugwumps of 1848 who formed the Free Soil party when Charles Allen, Charles Francis Adams, Charles Sumner, Henry Wilson, George F. Hoar and a few others led a small and insignificant band of voters by whom the dough-faced Whigs were buried and the Hunker Democrats were soon beaten.

Both of the existing parties now stand in need of an infusion of bacteria in order that the wholesome portion of each party may be dissociated from the disintegrating mass. I know of no more suitable place to put away the Jingo element than either to send its representatives where they belong — to the land of mendacity — or to bury them under a solid weight of public derision and contempt.

AMONG THE PAPERS.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

To make head against the influences which serve to propagate the love of war it seems necessary to begin the task in our school system. Already there is some foundation for teaching of this sort in the instruction which is now being essayed concerning the rights and duties of the citizen. It will be a simple and appropriate addition to this good work to set forth the actual nature and effects of armed contests. If the task were properly done, every youth